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his reign could not fail to produce important changes in naval architecture and tactics. Yet Charles V. did not possess, in the strict sense of the words, a royal navy. In his time all ships were armed. He hired such as he needed for his wars and simply reinforced them with fighting men. According to Captain Duro, however, his navy, if such it may be called, was surpassed by that of no Christian nation and his sailors were inspired by the ambition to make it the first in the world. "Nobody can doubt," wrote the Marquis of Mondejar in 1538, "that in order to defend his states and all Christendom, and also to suppress the infidels, it is his Majesty's duty to become ruler of the sea."

W. F. TILTON.

Queen Elizabeth. By MANDELL CREIGHTON, D. D., Bishop of Peterborough. (London and Paris: Boussod, Valadon and Co. 1896. Pp. ii, 199.)

DR. CREIGHTON'S *Elizabeth* is first of all a sumptuous volume of historical portraits from various royal and private collections reproduced with a tastefulness and skill that do infinite credit to the publishers. The narrative is, as the author himself tells us, secondary to the illustrations. Since the avowed chief object of the volume lies in the "attempt to bring together the most remarkable portraits of Elizabeth and her contemporaries" we may excuse the total lack of notes indicating the sources of the narrative. But there is certainly no excuse for the omission (with one exception) of all indications regarding painters and dates of the original pictures, which should have been given, if not under each illustration, at least in the list at the end of the volume. This is a need which must be felt alike by the student of history and the lover of art. It is not enough to be told by the author that the publishers "have spared no pains to bring together the most authentic and least accessible materials."

The present *édition de luxe* is soon to be followed by a cheaper edition which will put the book within reach of persons of average means. It is to be hoped that the occasional mistakes in spelling, due doubtless to the fact that the text has been printed in France, will disappear from the second issue. It is difficult, for instance, to recognize in "cavious" the "curious" intended by the author.

Since the Bishop of Peterborough¹ describes the object of his narrative as biographical rather than historical in the broader sense, the reader must not expect a full treatment of the age of Philip II. and the Counter-reformation, of that vast European struggle between Protestantism and the renewed Catholic Church which humbled Spain, rent France asunder, raised little Holland to a proud eminence among the nations and left England mistress of the seas and the acknowledged head of Protestant Europe. Yet Elizabeth's life was indissolubly connected with these great

¹ Now of London.

things, and as the author deals in turn with the crises of the reign he forces this fact irresistibly upon our attention. Dr. Creighton's style is lively, yet dignified. The diction is such as eminently benefits a great historical subject.

If the tragic experiences of her early years explain to a great extent the qualities which make Elizabeth's character such an enigma, Dr. Creighton ascribes also great influence to heredity, tracing with striking insight her caution and prudence to Henry VII., her royal imperiousness and personal charm to her father, and to Anne Boleyn her vanity, coarseness, unscrupulousness and relentless, overbearing temper. Elizabeth always remained, he says, more truly the daughter of Anne Boleyn than of Henry VIII. The greatest crisis in Elizabeth's life Dr. Creighton sees in the terrible ordeal through which she went when under examination for her relations with the Lord Admiral Seymour. "The strain to which she was then subjected," he says, "did more than anything else to form her character." Emerging from this difficulty, she devoted herself to her studies, in which she made rapid progress. Detected as a shameless coquette and found lacking in that intuitive modesty which would have enabled her to resist the grossness of Seymour's wooing, she was now wise enough to play the part of a pure and modest maiden. She became the idol of the Protestant party and could, as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, scarcely help feeling that she embodied in herself the principles of a mighty revolution.

The historian could render no greater service to the period of Elizabeth than by tracing on the ground of laborious research the gradual progress of the English people from Romanism to Protestantism. It is plainly not enough to assert in the off-hand manner of some historians that the cannon of Sir Francis Drake settled once for all the question of England's creed. The problem is one of conspicuous, perhaps insuperable difficulty, and it was obviously impossible to deal with it exhaustively in an essay like Dr. Creighton's. Still it was natural to expect some new light on the subject from the author of the *History of the Papacy*, and the student will not be wholly disappointed. For, though Dr. Creighton gives no authority for his statements, we find here and there brilliant discussions of the religious question which cannot fail to stimulate the investigator and guide him on his weary way. At the very outset the author invites controversy by his statement (p. 15) that the great majority of the English people was Protestant even before Elizabeth's accession. One cannot suppress the wish that he had given some hint of his reasons for this opinion. He ascribes to the Queen a definite ecclesiastical policy and remarks that the system which she founded has not changed from that day to this. The English people as a whole (and again one wishes for proofs) welcomed the religious settlement, for there were few staunch Romanists or fanatical Protestants. Nevertheless, two parties formed themselves outside the church, Romanists, who tried to unite Catholic Europe in destroying the heretic queen, and on the other hand, those who wished to mould the English Church into the Calvinistic

form. Both these parties, says Dr. Creighton, were dangerous to the national welfare. Yet it was the fiery, uncompromising spirit of Calvin which was fighting the battle of Protestantism on the Continent, and it may well be asked whether England was not strengthened for the great struggle against the Counter-reformation by an infusion of this same restless spirit. In regard to Elizabeth's persecution of the Catholics, Dr. Creighton is highly apologetic and does not sufficiently emphasize its real severity. And finally he flatly denies that Elizabeth was destitute of true religious feeling. "Perhaps in nothing," he concludes, "was Elizabeth's foresight more conspicuous than in her ecclesiastical policy."

Less interesting, but by no means unimportant is that long comedy of negotiations for Elizabeth's marriage which did not end till the death of Alençon. Dr. Creighton thinks her policy in these matters was already formed at her accession. She was, he says, always ready to contemplate matrimony, but any particular alliance must be proved to be for the nation's good. He credits her with great foresight in refusing the hand of Philip II., and thinks she came to the deliberate conclusion that he would be compelled reluctantly to stand by her for fear of France. A chapter is devoted to the perplexing and sometimes revolting story of Elizabeth's fickleness and double-dealing in the negotiations for marriage with Alençon. After all, writes Dr. Creighton, this episode is "only the policy of Elizabeth writ large in a particular instance."

Dr. Creighton's solution of the problem of Amy Robsart is favorable to Dudley, whom he acquits of all complicity in the tragedy. The most probable conclusion is, he thinks, that Amy Robsart's forlorn condition so preyed upon her mind that finally in a fit of desperation she flung herself down the winding staircase. So Dudley was free, but the great political dangers on every side showed Elizabeth that she must think not of personal gratification, but of self-preservation. She seems to have recognized that marriage with Dudley was impossible and that any marriage would have weakened her position. The sad experience of her sister had demonstrated the danger of risking all in the hope of an heir, and either a husband or a recognized successor would have dwarfed her own importance. "Her strength," observes the Bishop of Peterborough, "lay in the uncertainty about the future, which bound all her followers to a personal loyalty of unswerving devotion."

As the present work is intended to be a companion volume to Skelton's *Mary Stuart*, it is natural that Dr. Creighton should enter into controversy with that able apologist upon those alluring problems of the Scottish queen's strange career that can never be satisfactorily settled. It is enough for him to show how the marriage with Bothwell and the ensuing catastrophe wrecked Elizabeth's plan of keeping Mary on the Scottish throne, weak, discredited and dependent upon the Queen of England, and how a little later, when Mary was a fugitive and a prisoner in England, Elizabeth's intention was, slightly to justify the Lords and slightly to inculcate Mary in order to make a genial compromise which would require her constant intervention. For a judicial inquiry into

Darnley's murder was impossible in itself. No impartial tribunal could be constructed to try the case.

The presence of Mary Stuart in England became an encouragement to that great conspiracy of Catholic Europe against England which culminated in the Armada. Its first great outbreak into open hostility was the rebellion of the North. The utter collapse of this attempt may be regarded as a proof that Elizabeth was at length firmly seated on the throne. "It was hopeless to overthrow her by a rebellion. For that purpose assassination or foreign invasion could alone avail." If the rising of the North was an outburst of dissatisfaction at home, the Rodolfi plot was "a deep-laid scheme for bringing to bear on England all the resources of the old religion." Its failure proved that inherent weakness in the combination which was always to reappear, until finally Philip the Second's desire was fulfilled and he was left alone to execute against heretic England the decree of divine wrath.

A few years after Mary Stuart's flight to England, Elizabeth was brought face to face with an opportunity to play a great part in Continental affairs. It was the time of Coligny's ascendancy, and it looked for a moment as if Catholics and Huguenots, Frenchmen and Englishmen might unite in humbling Spain. "It was," says the Bishop of Peterborough, "and must always remain a problem, what would have been the result on European history if Elizabeth had been capable of a bold policy; and at no time is the question more interesting than just at this period of her reign." The refusal of the sovereignty over the Netherlands is a similar illustration of her policy. Eager for small gains, she refused great opportunities. She pursued no great ideals. She wished to foster England's growth, not to imperil it by rash adventure. "She was no Amazon, but a careful housewife."

The narration now marches rapidly. We come to the execution of Mary Stuart. Elizabeth's biographer calls her action at this crisis "only an exhibition on a conspicuous scale of her habitual conduct" and does not spare strong words of censure for her miserable injustice towards Davidson.

The Armada is dismissed in very few words. Dr. Creighton thinks that England feared the Spanish fleet less than the possible landing of Parma. This view seems somewhat exaggerated, and it may well be questioned whether England was more concerned in military preparation than in the equipment of the fleet. The author defends Elizabeth from the charge of criminal parsimony at this juncture. She was, he maintains, not personally responsible. The demand that Howard and Hawkins should produce their accounts for audit marks a beginning of greater efficiency in administration and a higher standard of honor in dealing with the public money.

Dr. Creighton has given us a brilliant and delightful essay rather than a work of historical research. Though the utter lack of references, which would have been doubtless thought out of place in a production so exclusively artistic, makes it difficult to criticise particular statements,

the author's well-deserved reputation for sound learning lends those statements great weight, while the reflection and theories which he bases on established facts can be judged on their own merits and will be found deeply thoughtful and stimulating if not always convincing. Industry and learning can place the palpable events, the main facts of the period before us. It remains for the trained judgment and severely controlled imagination of the individual historian to interpret those facts and construct the personality. Nothing is more evident than that scholars of equal authority may differ as the poles; not in the importance which all must attribute to the reign of Elizabeth, but in the greatness of the part they ascribe to the queen herself in shaping England's destiny. One school of historians may emphasize the inevitable rise to greatness of a race with the characteristics and environment of the English, another may lay greatest stress upon the sagacity and tireless energy of Burghley, a third, and to this class Dr. Creighton belongs, is inclined to regard Elizabeth as wiser than her ministers and as the true teacher and leader of her people. "She saw what England might become and nursed it into the knowledge of its power." To Walsingham alone he gives the credit of having ever succeeded in forcing Elizabeth to act with decision. But no one element and no one personality can create the greatness of a nation.

W. F. TILTON.

Puritanism in the Old World and in the New, from its Inception in the Reign of Elizabeth to the Establishment of the Puritan Theocracy in New England. A Historical Handbook. By the Rev. J. GREGORY, Edinburgh. (New York, Chicago and Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1896. Pp. x, 406.)

UNDER this title a prominent Scotch Congregationalist has gathered the gleanings of extensive reading in the modern literature of Puritanism, and of occasional, though much less full, examination of its sources. The author disclaims all intention of writing a "history of English Puritanism," preferring the "form of a handbook" to the more ambitious attempt. The work thus described is interesting and readable, bearing evidence of much painstaking industry in assembling material and in collecting the opinions of many writers who have treated the Puritans from the most diverse points of view. Various aspects of Puritanism and of leading Puritan character are discussed in short paragraphs, the whole being arranged in general chronologic sequence and tracing the outline of the movement from its beginnings to about the time of the union of the four Congregational colonies of New England. No cause could wish for a more fervent or admiring champion. Yet the impression of the work is in large degree disappointing. The limitations of the author's method produce a feeling not so much of condensation as of fragmentariness. Though the parental relationship of Puritanism to free institu-